4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182–83).

[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832–1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *No Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[100] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *caboré*[101] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[102] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

[100] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[101] The *caboré* is a nocturnal bird. [102] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 171 571 gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

563 571 575 565 One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

563 571 575 463 759 554 Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and profcssional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ganization which numbers about 345[24] of the city's intellectual élite, is a dark mixed-blood, the able engineer and Tupi scholar previously mentioned. The secretary of the organization is white, but during his absence on federal appointment in Rio the assistant secretary, a dark mulatto educator, discharges the secretarial duties. Of the 30 officers and committeemen of this institution, 24 are whites, 2 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 4 are mulattoes. Among the whites are several scions of the old aristocracy.

At a dinner of the Rotary Club, which numbers among its members some of the city's most prominent businessmen, 42 whites, 5 *brancos da Bahia*, and 1 very light mulatto (a visitor) were present. The guest speaker was white. Of 55 members, 47 are whites, 6 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 are very light mulattoes.

Of 28 citizens assuming prominent roles in a community organization designed to erect a mausoleum to Castro Alves, 15 were whites, 5 were *brancos da Bahia*, 7 were light mulattoes, 2 were dark mulattoes, and 1 was a black, the latter an able engineer and local historian. At a public meeting in honor of Castro Alves, the speaker was a white politician with a national reputation, an able man of letters, and scion of the old aristocracy. Of 200 individuals in the audience, only 18 were colored (15 mulattoes, mostly very light mixed-bloods, and 3 blacks).

At a recital given by a noted Brazilian pianist, where there were present, according to a newspaper account, "the most select of Bahia's artistic and social circles,"[25] the audience was composed of 116 whites, 14 mulattoes, predominantly light, and 2 blacks.

[24] According to the secretary of the organization.

[25] *Estado da Bahia*, January 22, 1937.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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that the period of time involved is much greater in the case of Carnival.

In 1936, as for some years previously, three clubs competed in presenting floats on the opening and closing evenings of Carnival. The rivalries, especially between Cruz Vermelha and the Fantoshes, are intense, the Innocentes em Progresso appearing to be rather generally admired.

Preceding, during, and following the parade, Negro *batucadas* and *cordões* pass through the milling crowds. The *batucadas* are usually composed of fifteen to twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mulattoes, who carry small drums, *cuicas*, and *xaque-xaques*,[29] and parade in single file. The music is one toned and monotonous, reminiscent of the *candomblé* ritual. A *cordão* consists of fifty or sixty people of both sexes and all ages, invariably blacks and dark mulattoes, inclosed within a roped quadrangle, some marching, rather informally, some constantly whirling and dancing, all singing African songs and beating their palms. A banner, usually of silk and velvet, bears the group's name. It may be Outum Obá de Africa, Ideal Africano, Onça,[30] or some similar designation. The group also includes from ten to fifteen musicians with brass instruments, a few blacks in African costume, and a dancer bearing an animal's head (tiger, lion, *onça*, etc.). The women and the small children are usually dressed in the *Bahiana* costume, to be described in detail in a subsequent chapter.

In a spirit of levity common to the Carnival season, one will occasionally see a group of whites and light mulattoes burlesquing the *cordão*. Encompassed by a rope, they pass through the crowd, singing, dancing, and beating their palms. In one of these *blocos*, as they are called, 16 of the

[29] See chap. ix.

[30] The *onça* is the Brazilian jaguar.

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literary purposes like the Club 15 de Novembro, Club 13 de Maio, Gremio Dramatus e Recreativo Kosmos, and the Gremio União da Mocidade; of the Negro women's organization, Centro Civico Palmares; and, in 1931, of the Frente Negra Brasileira[15] ("Brazilian Negro Front") with the aim of "bringing together the Negroes of all Brazil," clearly indicates at least some race consciousness on the part of the Negroes of São Paulo and consequently reflects feelings of exclusion and discrimination; as also do the subsequently organized Associação dos Brasileiros de Côr in Santos and the Frente Negra Pelotense in Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul.[16]

However, these indications of a measure of race consciousness are probably exceptions to the general Brazilian cultural pattern and not typical of it. Organizers for the Frente Negra do Brasil, after several weeks of fruitless effort, gave up an attempt to organize a chapter at Bahia. The fact that noted intellectuals band together to resist attitudes prejudicial to racial minorities is in itself an evidence of the racial ideology which we have noted. That these intellectuals are not atypical persons is attested by the general tenor of the spontaneous utterances, as well as formal remarks, of numerous Brazilians. It may be that Bahia, by reason of long being a passive cultural area in comparison to the more active cultural areas of the South, is more characteristically representative of the original Brazilian mores than São Paulo and certain other southern zones. But even in São Paulo the journals referred to above have one by one suspended publication, a fact which would seem to indicate

[15] With the advent of the new regime in November, 1937, the political activities of the Frente Negra Brasileira were suppressed. Its social and educational program, however, was continued and the name changed to União Negra Brasileira.

[16] See Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), pp. 168–74.

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to the anthropophysical study of the colored child/. Rio de Janeiro, 1939.

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The author of these pages has classified, according to their respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

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Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for university instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of

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829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against 829 +563 578 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. [443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension [152] [458] [579] is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population [261] attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 +563 575 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 771 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most 798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious 62 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

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*563 *575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] [565] [113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos racials no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. But there are white schoolmistresses in the *563 872 public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

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*563 562 792 178 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 793 [829] There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclesiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theological seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

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/77/ Sports

*563 526 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil, whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 526 •575 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

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*563 526 575 liberal profession relates that he was more than once invited by the members of this club to join their teams, but he answered them: "You are all white. If one day when I might wish to play with a white girl she refused because I am mulatto, I would be capable of doing something foolish... It is much better to avoid this."

[565] Basketball and volleyball are also games played by the young people of the intermediate and upper classes, members of sporting and recreational clubs. Some of the "teams" as an exception, admit dark players capable of contributing to their victory; the portraits of these players may be seen in the halls of the luxurious buildings of some of these clubs. There are, moreover, some school teams on which students of different types take part.

[178] In the rowing clubs, an informant assures us, discrimination against colored persons was such some ten years ago that a group of dark young men founded a separate club that was allowed to pit itself against the others. Other informants explain, however, [565] that this discrimination was based on the fact that rowing has always been a sport of the bourgeoisie (students of the intermediate class, commercial employees, officials of the higher categories); no one of inferior rank, that is to say, of subordinate occupation (soldiers, domestics, laborers), was accepted on the teams. For some years, however, on the occasion of important competitions, certain clubs have temporarily completed their nautical teams with colored rowers taken from more plebeian teams. It is generally a matter of semiprofessional sportsmen of modest circumstances.

*563 526 The truly popular sport throughout the country is football. Groups of players, having a permanent or temporary organization, practice this game almost everywhere. Football games /78/ arouse extraordinary enthusiasm, especially among persons of the male sex, draw thousands and thousands of spectators to the stadiums, and bring in a great deal. At the beginning of the century football, introduced into Brazil by young men reared in England, was a pastime of the bourgeoisie; on their "teams" there were probably never, or very rarely, young colored men. One

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563 of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years
526 and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years
[578] ago football started to become professional; today there are few
[575] important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of pro-
563 fessionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players.
542 They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them
555 exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and
554 their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank; they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

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* 563 814 571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 morenos and mulattoes; among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. The group of poets and prose writers who, [538] under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

* 563 • 575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic [565] group. It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only finos Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (brancas na côr).

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● 575 "The truly black Black does not enter these clubs," says an informant, and if he happens to be accepted it is truly exceptional; in those of the highest classes he feels isolated at the meetings and celebrations. He is then obliged to form a really marginal group with those of his type. Very few persons with quite pigmented skin have been admitted to clubs of this category, according to what people assert, but if they are received, a black leader says, it is the "doctor" who is admitted and not the Black.

A quite pigmented girl who has been at dances in several of the clubs mentioned told her friends that "the clubs accepted her because she had graduated and that people did not have the courage to turn her away." One may imagine the astonishment that a woman of liberal profession caused in Rio de Janeiro, said one informant, by going, perhaps from provocation and undoubtedly because she was accustomed to the mores of Bahia, to a ball in one of the highest-class hotels of the city.

Nevertheless and on condition that they are "socially white," light individuals do not encounter barriers. The latter, moreover, fall away in proportion as the clubs are more modest. In the clubs of intermediate category or that try to improve their class and seek members of circumstances less low, the old members of very dark color are kept somewhat reluctantly, our informants declare, and new ones are not admitted. A mulatto informant who for many years took part in the management of one of these clubs said that the latter are in the process of "having a cleaning" and they take advantage of every occasion to eliminate undesirable members; /89/ this orientation is not accepted by all the directors and has brought about serious crises. One very dark man of liberal profession relates that about eight years ago he was invited to go to the headquarters of one of these organizations to help with the carnival processions; upon his arrival he felt that the porter hesitated to let him in. The friend who had invited him was not present, so he asked to see one of the directors of the association; the latter told him, while excusing himself a great deal, that it was not possible for him to let him enter, the club not being able

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at that time to receive colored people. The informant adds, however, that he does not know of any other incident of this kind, and that he attributes it to the passing influence of some member of the management of the club in question. According to another informant, a mulatto of modest circumstances was recently unable to renew his registration at a club of which he was already a member: he attributed this refusal to his color, for he fulfilled the necessary conditions for his readmission. Thus there are clubs of intermediate category that are mentioned by the informants as being sometimes accessible to Blacks, sometimes inclined to exclude them.

Even in the most modest organizations, cases of discrimination may occur. About ten years ago an association of minor employees in commerce refused entrance to colored people during a festival it held at its headquarters. A few days later a similar association, announcing by way of the newspapers an excursion that it proposed to organize in order to celebrate a national date, added that there would be no "color distinction" and explained that the excursion would be "democratic." More recently one of the weekly newspapers of the city published the following note on the subject of a club of intermediate class:

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"The news that reaches us is grave; club X is taking a dangerous road: racism. In the course of the festival of the day before yesterday, at the moment when the ball was at its height, an 'Aryan' director expelled from the festival all persons of very dark color, which was very mortifying, particularly for the young people who were obliged to withdraw humiliated from the festival. If club X is against Blacks, its directors should notify their members in advance for all practical purposes. Never, in short, should they make them leave the premises, which is inelegant and could provoke reprisals."

Toward situations of this kind the attitude of the persons affected varies also. In certain cases they protest by way of the newspapers, but one most frequently encounters an attitude of remoteness, of disaffection, toward the meetings and entertainments of similar

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organizations, even among the little pigmented métis of relatively high rank, who, by their features and their social qualifications, could be accepted, but who, /90/ probably out of timidity, prefer to adopt a negative reaction of defense. Almost all claim to be of an eccentric nature, to have always lived very much apart, to have never learned to dance. Some go so far as to pretend that, even if they were accepted, they would very rarely go to a club celebration. One Black explains that "often Negroes do not encounter barriers because, knowing the racial prejudice, they do not go to certain places, particularly to the social clubs, for it is in connection with dancing that this prejudice manifests itself most." There are those who, agreeing with this opinion, console themselves by saying that "a Negro never goes to clubs, but he is admitted to scientific congresses and in intellectual milieus. Still others react like a black student for whom these refusals "ought to stimulate the reaction of colored persons so that those who have education finally endeavor to rise to the point of being amused. But it is the opposite that happens, they withdraw." In truth, there are few who are disposed to cope with the oppositions and those who are determined to do so may be accused, even by those of their type, of being "indiscreet" and of exposing themselves to useless conflicts by going where they have not been invited. Moreover, these attitudes are very typical of persons belonging to groups subject to discrimination and who think it is useless to react against the differential treatment that is applied to them. "I know a club to which some dark colored people were able to be admitted, but by provoking reactions," relates a rather pigmented man of liberal profession. "I do not want to subject myself to such an eventuality. I should be happy to be admitted, however, if I had a sufficiently powerful friend to introduce me and to overcome the resistance of the management committees. This, however, does not interest me, but it would be a favorable precedent for others; I also know that if this happened I would encounter the hostility of the white girls who would be very embarrassed to dance with a Black. On the part of the men there would be no opposition. A colored girl in similar circumstances

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/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

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1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajû, 1950, p. 246.

Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy provided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

The very select clubs having a predominance of members who are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal professions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say, showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories mentioned above is the following:

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Club	Number of members	Percentage			
		Whites	"Morenos"	Mulattoes	Blacks
		%	%	%	%
High category	1,522	67.21	24.83	7.95	-
Middle category	1,115	38.02	35.78	25.56	0.62

[535] In the dance clubs of workers, domestics, soldiers, and day laborers, the Whites are a minority and the Blacks are in high proportion.

As has been said above, one of the conditions required for the admission of a colored person in the recreational associations of the highest categories is to have a solid economic basis or a doctor's diploma. Indeed, in the distinguished clubs mentioned in the table above, the group of merchant members includes 76.89 o/o of white phenotype, 16.50 o/o morenos, and 6.60 o/o light branqueados (whitened) mulattoes, while that of the liberal professions contains only 62.03 o/o of the white type, 30.05 o/o morenos, and 7.90 o/o mulattoes. This confirms the observa-
[555] tion that many people succeed in improving their social rank by way of the liberal professions, for they are thus able to be introduced into the brotherhoods and social clubs, organizations which, in addition to their specific functions, are very important in that they are, as it were, an index of the social position of the Bahians.

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575 Numerous informants assert that they would not make an application to these clubs on their own, but that they are /92/ sometimes introduced by white friends. It may also happen that such proposals remain without effect when the management committees learn that it is a matter of a very black person. The papers lie in the archives of the club, but the candidate is never told the real or presumed reason for his refusal. It is said of a

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* 563 mulatto professor that one of his friends wanted to enroll him in
• 575 a club of the intermediate category located in a neighborhood of the same order, took his photograph for the club file, and ... never told him the result of his procedure: he concluded from it that the refusal was motivated by his "quality."

It is obvious that all the cases cannot be interpreted simply as examples of the screening carried on against colored persons. One notes, however, that this is a secter of social relations where there is a certain conflict, although the tension that results from it is concealed by a mechanism of accommodation on both sides. On the one hand, the clubs allege not to have in their statutes provisions that oppose the admission of colored persons, even black ones, and endeavor to give rational explanations for what the excluded candidates consider acts of discrimination; on the other hand, dark colored persons assume an attitude of negative defense by suppressing the aggressive impulses which usually result from states of frustration.

* 563 In student celebrations that take place in the halls of the
577 clubs of the highest category, restrictions against the entry of
574 dark colored persons and against dancing between Whites and Blacks are considerably reduced. This is what the informants say, and observation altogether confirms this statement. In family reunions, not very frequent in our day among the upper classes, discrimination is relaxed. "Familiarity makes prejudices fall away," according to the utterance of a Black. "When a Black appears at a white family celebration," a student asserts, "he arouses a certain curiosity and a certain reserve until he is introduced and one knows who he is. But from the moment he is introduced, especially if he is a friend of the family, he does not encounter any difficulty in dancing even with white girls." "The girls in such cases do not, or very rarely, refuse to dance with a colored boy, especially if it is a matter of a student or a well-bred person: the mothers, however, create some opposition and appear uneasy to see their daughters approached by a dark young man, sometimes fearing that they will fall in love." This information is given by a mulatto practicing a liberal profession, who, when he was a student, took part in numerous family celebrations at the homes of Whites.

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*563 668 whose aim was: "To extirpate, annul, abolish the inferiority complex (of the darkest ones); to demolish, enlighten, and purify a false superiority complex (of the lightest ones), so that, by a just and balanced educational process, there may no longer be Blacks and Whites in Brazil, but only Brazilians." Aside from a publication in the form of proverbs, thoughts, and maxims on the inferior situation of the Blacks, this campaign was pursued by means of "conferences of spiritualist philosophy" conducted by the founder, a physician with a modest clientele. This movement too, however, had neither the repercussion nor the prestige hoped for by its founder, with the result that the latter is thinking of starting in Bahia a branch of the Union of Colored Men, created some years ago in the country. But although he believes in the existence of color prejudice and wishes to combat it, the secretary-general of this union, in statements to a newspaper of Bahia on the occasion of a visit to the city, said that "in Brazil there is in reality no race prejudice. And this is so true that, although our principal objective is to unite colored men of all countries, the union opens its doors to citizens of other races; this also because we think it would be impossible to form a separatist association in this land, which is for all."

*563 ● 575 794 The Federation of the Afro-Brazilian Cult, organized to join together the groups of the cult, and the centers of Afro-Brazilian studies are, as their names indicate, organizations of a different nature. Neither their statutes nor their activities tie them directly to the programs of social action in favor of colored people.

*563 668 /101/ As may be seen, the "Negro" movements in Bahia have a very precarious existence and operation. Ordinarily they group almost exclusively Blacks and dark mulattoes of relatively modest circumstances, and they do not practice real social and political action. They do not, however, form hostile groups, but, quite the contrary, they endeavor to bring together Whites and Blacks; they avoid all strife and antagonism with the dominant group, and in the last analysis they have as a fundamental objective the integration, let us say even the acculturation, of colored people,

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/103 cont./ In principle anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities, or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the distribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize the upper classes:

	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample representative of the total population, which proves, in fact, that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

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Table I. Types of members belonging to a "high-class" recreational club.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry	396	76.89	85	16.50	34	6.60	515
Officials	40	68.96	11	18.96	7	12.06	58
Military men	12	57.10	5	23.80	4	19	21
Artists, professors	3	50			3	50	6
Technicians (chemists, agronomists, draftsmen, translators, etc.	23	62.10	11	29.70	3	8.1	37
Lawyers	96		58		13		167
Physicians, dentists Pharmacists	142	62.03	79	30.05	20	7.90	241
Civil engineers	71		34		11		116
Students	240		95		26		361
	1,023	67.21	378	24.83	121	7.95	1,522

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. Table II. Types of members belonging to a recreational club of the intermediate social group.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Blacks		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Merchants, commercial employees	246	36.28	267	39.38	163	24.04	2	0.29	678
Officials	81	41.96	74	38.34	38	19.68			193
Military men	6	28.56	11	52.37	4	19.04			21
Artists, professors	4	17.39	11	47.82	7	30.43	1	4.34	23
Technicians	8	33.66	5	18.51	12	40.74	2	7.40	27
Liberal professions, students	79	45.66	31	17.91	61	35.26	2	1.15	173
	424	38.02	399	35.78	285	25.56	7	0.62	1,115